

## Message Text

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21

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 OMB-01 AID-20 SAJ-01 NIC-01 SAM-01 CU-05

EUR-25 DRC-01 /145 W

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R 080600Z AUG 74

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1805

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8899

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: RECALLED KWANGMING DAILY ARTICLE

REF: HONG KONG 8684 NOTAL

SUMMARY. AN ALLEGORICAL ARTICLE WHICH CAUSED THE RECALL OF KWANGMING DAILY JULY 23 IS SIMILAR TO THE LEFTIST WALL POSTERS OF JUNE IN ITS COMPLAINT AGAINST REPRESSION. THE MAJOR OFFENSE APPEARS TO BE CRITICAL ALLUSION TO MAO AND HIS REGIME IN GENERAL.

END SUMMARY.

1. WE HAVE TRANSLATED AND ARE SENDING TO THE DEPARTMENT AND USLO THE TEXT OF THE OFFENDING ARTICLE WHICH CAUSED THE RECALL OF KWANGMING DAILY'S ORIGINAL EDITION FOR JULY 23. THE RECALLED ARTICLE DEMONSTRATES ONE THING CLEARLY: PEKING MEDIA'S CURRENT INDULGENCE IN HISTORICAL ALLEGORY IS TRICKY BUSINESS WITH LATITUDE

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FOR GIVING SERIOUS OFFENSE, DELIBERATELY OR OTHERWISE, AT THE

HIGHEST LEVELS.

2. THESE ALLEGORICAL PIECES ARE NEVER EASY FOR OUTSIDERS TO INTERPRET AND OTHER READERS OF THE ARTICLE MAY DIFFER WITH OUR VIEW. WE FIND THE ARTICLE SIMILAR IN ITS COMPLAINT TO MANY OF THE LEFTIST POSTERS PUT UP IN JUNE BUT SUBSEQUENTLY REMOVED: GOOD MEN ARE UNJUSTLY SUPPRESSED AND PERSECUTED. IN ITS INSISTENCE UPON THE IMPORTANCE OF "TINY THINGS," THE ARTICLE ALMOST CERTAINLY DIRECTS A BARB AT CHOU EN-LAI, WHO TOLD THE PARTY CONGRESS LAST AUGUST THAT QUITE A FEW PARTY COMMITTEES WERE ENGROSSED IN "MINOR MATTERS" AND NEGLECTING MAJOR ISSUES.

3. FOR THEIR PART, THE LEFTIST LEADERSHIP COULD TAKE OFFENSE AT THE DIATRIBE DIRECTED AGAINST COURT INTIMATES, AND AT THE MOOD OF DESPAIR CONVEYED BY THE ARTICLE. THE CLASSICAL TEXT WHICH THE ARTICLE ANNOTATES, HAN FEI'S "SOLITARY INDIGNATION," IS A DEEPLY GLOOMY AND PESSIMISTIC PIECE TO BEGIN WITH AND THE ARTICLE DOES LITTLE TO RELIEVE THIS. THE THEME, IN SHORT, IS THAT POWER-HOLDERS WITH THEIR CLIQUES AND FACTIONS SURROUND THE RULER AND HOODWINK HIM INTO GRAVE MISTAKES WHILE HONEST, TALENTED MEN ARE NOT ALLOWED TO RISE IN THE SYSTEM.

4. ABOVE ALL, HOWEVER, WE THINK THE ARTICLE PROBABLY OFFENDED BY MAKING CRITICAL ALLUSION TO MAO AND HIS REGIME IN GENERAL. THE FAULTS OF THE "RULER" ARE HARPED UPON THROUGHOUT AND THE PASSAGE OF THE CLASSICAL TEXT WITH WHICH THE ARTICLE ENDS SUMS UP ITS DAMN-ALL PESSIMISM: "IT IS A BIG MISTAKE IF THE RULER DOES NOT CURB THE MINISTER WHO HAS COMMITTED A TOWERING CRIME. IN A COUNTRY, IF THE RULER ON TOP HAS MADE A BIG MISTAKE AND THE MINISTER UNDER HIM HAS COMMITTED A TOWERING CRIME, THERE IS NO HOPE THAT THIS COUNTRY COULD AVOID DESTRUCTION." THIS PASSAGE, WITH ITS KEY ALLUSION TO LIN PIAO'S "TOWERING CRIMES," AND ASSUMING THAT MAO IS THE RULER, PROBABLY OVERSTATES BY A COUNTRY MILE WHAT ANY GROUP IN THE REGIME IS PREPARED OPENLY TO DEFEND AS ALLEGORY FOR THE SITUATION IN CHINA TODAY.

5. THERE IS NO WAY OF KNOWING EXACTLY WHAT FORCES MAY HAVE BEEN BEHIND THE ARTICLE, NOR OF PRECISELY JUDGING THEIR SIGNIFICANCE ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE. WHAT IS PROBABLY IMPORTANT AT THIS POINT IS THAT THE ARTICLE WAS RECALLED, INDICATING THAT

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ITS LEVEL OF PROVOCATIVENESS EXCEEDS BOUNDS THAT ARE BEING ACTIVELY ENFORCED. THE HONG KONG COMMUNIST PRESS AUGUST 8 ANNOUNCES THE AVAILABILITY HERE OF A NEW ANNOTATED WORK ON HAN FEI, PUBLISHED IN SHANGHAI. WE MAY BE ABLE TO COMMENT FURTHER WHEN WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY THIS WORK.

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## Message Attributes

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